EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

DECEMBER 3, 1955
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TALK WITH CHOU EN-LAI

by Gerald Bailey

A Trap for Labor

Industrial Security Program

by Aaron T. Morris

Herr Tin Lizzie

Saga of the Volkswagen

by Edgar Snow

DEC 6 1955

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Letters

More on Movie Music

Dear Sirs: It may be that the quality and quantity of music scored on a motion picture film is not worth a controversy, but it seems to me that Robert Hatch was more objective in his criticism of film music in the September 24 issue than Dore Schary in countering that criticism in the October 22 issue. In citing several of his own excellent films which minimized the use of music, Mr. Schary rather proves Mr. Hatch's point, at least as I understood the gist of his article.

There is—and I'm sure both Mr. Hatch and Mr. Schary will agree—no hard-and-fast rule governing the use of music with dramatic films. Music was an added element to film from the very beginning, when the "piano player" pounded out an obbligato to the flickering images, with what added excitement only those of my age can remember. But when the sound film arrived in the late 1920's this obbligato became an integral part of the film. That it has been overdone on many occasions and will continue to be overdone, there can be no question. Just now the fad is to work a film's title into a theme song which blares out over the main title and is then instrumentally reprised whenever there is an appropriate moment; if this song makes the "hit parade," it is likely to bring in more customers to see the film. Naturally, a film is made for customers. Yet, while the theme song greatly enhances an occasional film ("High Noon" is a prime example), it cannot suit every film. There are films which can be injured by music, and there are films which can take a great deal of music.

There are two types of film composers: those who have a film-sense as highly developed as their musical sense and accordingly strive only to serve the film they are scoring; and those who fail to understand the effects the film-maker is after and either turn dramatist themselves or seize on a film as a chance to give a two-hour concert. Mr. Hatch is dead right in objecting to musical scores which underline or exaggerate emotional situations. It is the incompetent actor or director whose work is frequently repaired or fortified by a composer, acting at the behest of a desperate producer. The composer can do miracles of patching up. But in a well-made film it is as fatal to underline or overstress the content of a well-played scene with music as to overwrite it or overplay it. All exaggeration is wrong, whether in esthetics or in daily life, and I think that was what Mr. Hatch was writing about.

DUDLEY NICHOLS

Los Angeles, Calif.

Inaccuracies Cited

Dear Sirs: Recently I received a copy of The Nation, dated July 16, 1955, and on the inside front cover I found an article under the title, Around the U. S. A., with a subtitle, Newark Wary of Heretic Hunters, with the dateline Newark, New Jersey, and signed by Charles R. Allen.

I refer you to the sixth paragraph of that article and wish to call to your attention the inaccuracies in same. The motion to launch a probe of the city's workers was not defeated; on my motion, it was tabled until such time as the results of a questionnaire were analyzed and the City Council decided that the nature of such results would indicate whether or not any additional steps were to be taken. This is a matter of public record and can be verified by referring to the official printed minutes of the Council.

I was the author of the motion to send out the questionnaire. I was not forced to resign as president of the New Jersey Region of the American Jewish Congress as is printed in the aforesaid article. I have been and still am the president of the New Jersey Region of the American Jewish Congress. That is a matter of record which can be verified with the National Office of the American Jewish Congress in New York City. I consider the printed statement a deliberate, calculated, and vicious lie intended to harm my reputation and to besmirch my character.

SAMUEL E. COOPER
Councilman—South Ward
Newark Municipal Council

Newark, N. J.

[The Nation regrets that Mr. Allen's report was inaccurate in the particulars pointed out. Mr. Allen informs us that on the question of the motion to probe Newark's municipal workers, there was an error in the editing—he had used the word "shelved" in the original copy but did not get a chance to see or correct the proofs.]

Heartening Developments

Dear Sirs: Since Martin Hall wrote his article for your October 29 issue about my discharge from the University of Southern California for failure to become an informer, two events have occurred which make my situation less dismal. The University Senate, meeting as a body on October 19, reversed the decision of its executive committee and voted to hold hearings to "permit Dr. Deinum and the Administration reasonable opportunity to explain their respective actions, as well as utilizing all other sources of information. . . ." On the same day, the University of Southern California Student Senate went on record as approving the University Senate's action, after having itself passed a resolution which stated as a basic principle: "Only for lack of professional competence or integrity should a prefessor be removed from a teaching position."

These heartening developments are due solely to the increasing efforts of many students who simply refused to allow faculty and administration to continue to play dead on this issue. Very few teachers receive the satisfaction of this kind of tangible response to their usually unrewarded work. I owe it all to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, whose hit-and-run mission crystallized my students' feelings for the American tradition and for me.

ANDRIES DEINUM

Los Angeles, Calif.

Could Be

Dear Sirs: Maybe some of our recent converts to the Bill of Rights, as it affects jury trial, were visualizing a recording of the deliberations at Sumner, Mississippi.

ERNEST H. TILFORD

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 23

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Politics in a Void

The political news of the last fortnight—there has been plenty of it—has a strange quality. From the dispatches of the hundred-odd political reporters sent to cover the big Democratic blowout in Chicago, one hard fact emerges: quite a bit of money was raised. Aside from this solitary fact, one picks up some odd items of information: that Mr. Adlai Stevenson has a better staff now than in 1952; that Mr. Adlai Stevenson is more self-confident now than then; and that Mr. Adlai Stevenson is more inclined today to favor the political "pros" than in 1952. One also learns that Mr. Stevenson consulted his three sons before deciding to become a candidate and that a new daughter-in-law, Nancy, has measured up handsomely to her responsibilities as a political hostess. Finally, one is told by Doris Fleeson that some Democrats still have misgivings over the fact that Mr. Stevenson is a "divorced" person. Somehow we had thought this disability had more relevance to the sad case of Group Captain Peter Townsend than to Mr. Stevenson, who seems cheerful enough. After all, Mr. Stevenson polled 27,311,354 votes in 1952, which is some evidence, at least, that American voters are not necessarily prejudiced against those who have been divorced.

Admiring Mr. Stevenson as we do—and we are very glad indeed that he is a candidate for the Presidency—we can only be grateful for these tidbits of information. What bothers us is the remarkable contrast between the banality of the news from Chicago and the urgency of the political news from other quarters for the same period. One learns, for example, that our friends and allies at the United Nations secretly concede that this country has compromised them and itself by its stupid handling of the North Korean issue at the current session of the General Assembly. From Southeast Asia comes word that the clever Thais, who have survived down the years through their ability to change sides deftly at the critical junctures, are now flirting with the Chinese. The pro-Democratic New York *Post* deplores the fact that there has been "no concerted Democratic demand for a sweeping and critical review of our German program" in the wake of Geneva. At the United Nations our clumsy arm-twisting of Belgium and Great Britain, all in an effort to put through a package deal on new members, minus Outer Mongolia, without embarrassment to the Chinese Nationalists, has been so obvious, and painful, as to arouse critical comment in the friendliest sources. At home, Mr. James Desmond in a series of remarkable articles in the New York *Daily News*, warns that racial tensions in Mississippi have reached such a dangerous pitch that an outbreak of violence might occur which could have a disastrous effect on America's prestige abroad.

Yet we are told by Mr. Robert G. Spivack in the New York *Post* that Democratic harmony was achieved at Chicago by "glossing over the big issues—everything has been sidestepped here from the Mississippi Till case to the Texas-led drive to put across the oilmen's natural-gas bill," and Mr. James Reston tells us in the New York *Times* that the Democrats at Chicago failed to come up "with a single new idea for dealing with either the domestic or foreign policy defects they complained about. . . ." It is this remarkable contrast between the chit-chat that came to us from Chicago and the other news of the week that is disturbing, along with the contrast between Mr. Stevenson's brilliant efforts to "talk sense" to the American people in 1952 as against the lack of substance in his Chicago speech. Let's hope that in the weeks ahead Democratic hopefuls will turn from sweeping criticism of the Administration of the type voiced in Chicago, and later in Seattle by Mr. Harriman, to the presentation of some new, bold, constructive, intelligent proposals.

Triple V

Judge Luther W. Youngdahl has dealt the informer system another heavy blow in ruling that the State Department must disclose the information on the basis of which it denies a passport application. The ruling was made in the case of Leonard B. Boudin, the New York lawyer—and occasional contributor to this journal—who has earned some kind of special merit award for his brilliant campaign to vindicate the American citizen's freedom to travel. Said Judge Youngdahl: "When the basis of action by any branch of the Government remains hidden from scrutiny and beyond practical review, the seeds of arbitrary and irresponsible government are sown." In pointing out that this requirement applies to "any branch" of government, Judge Youngdahl has given strong support to the suggestion made by Judge Walter Pope in the coast guard screening case on which we commented some weeks ago (November 12, page 411), that due process implies a right of confrontation.

Buried in the news is another interesting item on the informer system. A Washington rooming-house operator

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has entered a plea of guilty to a charge of having falsely accused a White House clerk of selling government secrets to the Russian Embassy. The poison-pen letter, purporting to come from a fellow White House employee, was written on White House stationery. Independent investigation had previously determined the falsity of the charge. The A. P. story (November 21) simply notes that the person who made the false accusation "has never explained why he made it." The case is an almost-too-pat illustration of the evil inherent in the informer system.

Two recent developments have corrected, to some extent at least, unfair aspects of the army clearance system. The day Senator Hennings's civil-liberties investigation opened hearings on the army discharge cases, the Defense Department announced that hereafter it would check on inductees *before* instead of *after* they were inducted. At the same time, Judge David N. Edelstein, in the case sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on which Dan Wakefield reported for our readers (November 19), has ruled that when the army gives anything less than an honorable discharge to an inductee because of pre-induction membership in, or association with, so-called "subversive" organizations, it violates civil rights. It should be noted, also, that Congressman James Roosevelt has promised to introduce a bill requiring that when on honorable discharge is withheld, the serviceman must be granted a court martial based on army evidence. These are net gains but it is disturbing to learn that the army still takes cognizance of "remarks" made after induction on the basis of which, inferentially, honorable discharges can be withheld. A serviceman's right to an honorable discharge should be based on performance, not conversation.

The Cynical Mourners

A group of prominent Americans, including Mildred Adams, Waldo Frank, John Dos Passos, Henry R. Luce, and William Carlos Williams have issued a tribute to the late Jose Ortega y Gasset, Spanish philosopher, for having provided "new guide posts" for the measurement of human progress, and for having given the world due warning at a time when "the new totalitarian fashions seemed to offer promise." Their statement will help to counteract the shameful attempt of the Falangists to present the philosopher as "one of their own." The simple fact that Ortega died in Madrid (on October 18) was seized by them as proof that he had at long last swung over to the Franco regime. Most of the Cabinet as well as the secretary of the Falange Party attended the funeral services of this man who had always held fascism, Spanish or otherwise, in deepest contempt. The regime even sought to create the impression that Ortega, who had always criticized the Catholic church when it interfered in political affairs, had relented on his deathbed and blessed the hierarchy. So blatant a distortion of truth aroused the condemnation of *La Croix*, the leading Catholic paper of Paris.

As a youth, Ortega was expelled from the Jesuit University of Duesto for opposing Spain's role in the Spanish-American war. He was among those Spanish intellectuals who contributed actively, in the early thirties, to the founding of the Spanish Republic. And however strongly he repudiated the violence which accompanied the Civil War, he never relented in his dislike for the Franco regime.

The "Study" of Giants

When Congress is concerned with heresy it conducts investigations; when the object of its concern is the stock market or General Motors, it prefers "studies." The current leisurely study of General Motors, in the nature of an attempt to measure a giant, started on what *Business Week* characterized as "a slightly defensive note," and to date the fireworks have remained wet. Senator O'Mahoney, speaking for the committee, pleaded with several professors who had made a study of G. M. for the Brookings Institute to share their findings with Congress and the public. The professors politely demurred and were not called. The gentleness of this mode of inquiry is in remarkable contrast with the swashbuckling style of inquiry used to bludgeon political confessions from terrified teachers. It is also in remarkable contrast with the brilliant T. N. E. C. hearings which Senator O'Mahoney conducted in the 1930's. But with G. M. stock continuing its brilliant advance on the market, and with the company reporting earnings after all taxes of $913,000,000 for the first nine months of the year—it will be the first corporation in the country's history to earn over one billion dollars in a single year—it is little wonder that the investigators are "slightly apologetic" or that the hearing is being conducted in mood of mingled awe, reverence, and muted ecstasy. The giant being measured has little to fear from its measurers.

"Something's Gotta Give"

Defense expenditures are running higher than Washington anticipated earlier in the year; the total for 1955 promises to be closer to $36 billions than to the $34 to $34.5 billions previously predicted. Part of the explanation, notes John G. Norris in the Washington *Post*, is to be found in the fact that recent technological advances have made weapons vastly more complicated and, by the same token, more expensive. Writes Mr. Norris: "Weapons are becoming more and more complex, involving extensive use of electronics undreamed of a decade ago. War planes require elaborate and costly radar bomb sights, fire-control systems and communications. The latest air-force fighter . . . costs ten times what a World War II fighter ran, and three times what was paid for the Korean War F-86. . . . Guided missiles now coming into service for anti-aircraft, surface-to-surface, and air-to-air use, cost far more than

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guns for such purpose." And so it goes. The "semi-crash" program on guided missiles, which is almost immune from tight budgetary controls, has probably cost more than a billion dollars this year, and is really just getting started. Given the pace of technological advances, it is hard to disagree with Mr. Norris's conclusion that we are rapidly approaching the point where an irresistible force (the pressure for increased military spending) meets an immovable object (the nation's ability or willingness to pay the bill). When this point is reached, in the words of a popular song, "something's gotta give." Isn't now the time, then, to inventory the entire military establishment in terms of technological changes which, within a decade, have revolutionized modes of warfare?

Pyramid of Fear

The hearings Senator Kilgore is conducting on the McCarran-Walter Act point up the paradox noted by J. Campbell Bruce in last week's *Nation* (p. 457), namely, that those who favor repeal or modification possess an overwhelming political edge over those who do not. At these hearings, leading spokesmen for Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups took strong positions in favor of modification. Senators Case, Ives, Lehman, and Kennedy spoke up vigorously for modification or repeal. Senator Kennedy characterized the act as "the most blatant piece of discrimination in the nation's history," while Senator Lehman characterized it as representing "a pyramid of fears—fear of foreigners, fear of criminals, fear of Communists and anarchists, and fear even of naturalized American citizens." Victor Reuther for the C. I. O. and Walter J. Mason for the A. F. of L. urged modification of the quota system which Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, president of the Synagogue Council of America, reminded the committee is based today as in 1924 on "fear of the Catholic and hatred of the Jew."

Yet Senator Lehman was forced to concede that there appears to be little likelihood of the law's modification or repeal at the coming session of Congress. One reason, of course, is that the Administration is apparently reluctant to make good on President Eisenhower's 1952 campaign promise that "we should have had, and we must get, a better law than this McCarran Act." The other reason is simply that those who favor modification or repeal have not taken their case directly to the voters as a political issue. Every candidate for Congress should be asked to take a position on this act; Presidential candidates and incumbent Senators and Representatives who support it should be asked why. The strangest aspect of this political paradox is that no one seems to know just who are the silent supporters of the act. Whoever they are, they apparently have great political power.

A TRAP FOR LABOR

Industrial Security Program . . *by A. T. Morris*

MILLIONS of additional Americans are beginning to feel the impact of the government loyalty-security programs which began in Washington with the high-sounding aim of ensuring simon-pure, patriotic civil servants. Having, in the process, smashed the lives of many innocent Americans and their families, the programs have spread throughout the land. The case in point is the industrial security program, less publicized than the more dramatic civil-service program. A Senate committee headed by Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri and a twelve-member civilian commission are now engaged in separate studies of the programs—an indication of the widespread concern created by their operation.

Hard-won union gains are being imperiled by the industrial security program, drafted largely without labor consent or participation. The program itself is being gratuitously applied by employers in fields such as the newspaper and entertainment world without the pretext of a defense contract. Employers, using criteria set up by the Defense Department, are firing workers. And the spreading disease is affecting both the National Labor Relations Board and arbitrators called upon to decide so-called security-risk dismissals. The "new body of law" is producing a "new" set of decisions, much to labor's dismay.

The industrial security program is divided into two parts, the personnel clearance program and the plant industrial security program. The review program consists of the Office of Industrial Personnel Security Review, the Industrial Security Screening Board, and the Industrial Personnel Security Review Board. Sitting on these boards, as prescribed by the Defense Department regulations, are military and civilian members selected by the secretaries of each defense department. Hearing boards have been set up in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Military commanders picking members of the local boards are seriously advised to select "persons of responsibility and of mature judgment and balance who can be counted upon to proceed in a fair and judicial manner." Given the

AARON T. MORRIS is the pen name of a New York labor-management consultant.

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limitless scope of any inquiry into the thought processes of a citizen, the "fair and judicial" manner prescribed is obviously a pious wish rather than a reality.

The employers are given an opportunity to sit in judgment on their employees' loyalty through the provisions of a security manual issued to defense contractors by the Defense Department. The manual describes procedure in classifying and protecting secret material and requires the employer to submit reports concerning "existing or threatened espionage, sabotage or subversive activities" at any of his plants, factories or laboratories.

One sub-section of the instructions requires the employer with a defense contract to notify the military security office, in a "confidential" report, any available fact about an employee having access to classified information, "which indicates that such access is not, or would not be, clearly consistent with the interest of national defense." The possibilities in this procedure for anti-union employers eager to discharge active trade unionists are apparent. He sets the machinery in motion by classifying his entire plant as restricted, and thus asks for security clearance for practically every worker.

THE granting of a security clearance involves a sweeping set of criteria under which the applicant for such clearance is judged. There are twenty-two points in this prescription for judging a man's loyalty, including such causes for denying clearance as "any behavior, activities or associations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy." The most recent testing point, No. 22, provides for a denial of clearance if there is "refusal by the individual, upon the grounds of constitutional privilege against self-incrimination, to testify before a Congressional or legislative committee or federal or state court or other tribunal, regarding charges of his alleged disloyalty, or other misconduct."

Labor attorney Irving Abramson, a member of the New York bar, counsel for District 4, I. U. E.-C. I. O. and a former member of the Enemy Alien Hearing Board, in a speech at a Cornell University conference on problems in labor relations and arbitration, said of Point 22: "Thus, on the third day of April, 1955, an employee or an employer becomes a potential security risk if he invokes the protection against self-incrimination accorded him by the federal and state Constitutions."

Mr. Abramson continued: "The merits or reasonableness of this new criteria could be defended were the sanctions contained therein predicated on the refusal to answer questions directed to specific charges of disloyalty to the United States government. Criteria 22 is not, however, so limited. Certainly, this addition cannot be considered a contribution either to the effectiveness of the security program or the civil liberties of American citizens. . . ."

Employers have not been slow to realize the potential of the industrial security program as an anti-labor weapon neatly wrapped in patriotism. Consider the statement in a document issued by the National Industrial Conference Board in 1952:

> But even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, industrial security can pay off in peacetime. It can help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote excessive grievances, slowdowns, and strikes and encourage workers' antipathy toward management. These actions cost your company money. . . .

Another view is given in the magazine, *Factory Management and Maintenance*, October, 1954, by Albert J. Tuohy, director of security at Republic Aviation Corporation, Farmingdale, New York, under the title of Communists in Industry. Mr. Tuohy advised:

> . . . It will pay you not to jump to conclusions. Above all, don't forget there are two kinds of Communists in your plant. Both have a mission. The first is to agitate for communism, to create unrest, to lower morale, to take over the unions. These are generally your extreme liberals—the men with good educations who are usually in the better jobs—quite frequently engineering. I consider this group less dangerous than the second kind, whose mission is to get into a position where they can sabotage you out of commission. They are usually line employees, working in the most routine jobs. . . .

Mr. Tuohy's concern with the taking over of the trade unions was touching, indeed. His conception of the "two kinds of Communists" almost jibed with that of J. G. Sourwine, counsel for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, who offered his formula at a recent Los Angeles Town Hall discussion on the industrial program. Mr. Sourwine dramatically described what he called the "sleeper Communist" and the "secret Communist." The "sleeper Communist," he said, was one who did not engage in open Communist activity or has no past record of such activity. This type, Mr. Sourwine continued, was awaiting orders. As for the "secret Communist," according to Sourwine, he is engaged in Communist activities now and is a potential great danger in a factory.

Henry Mayer, a well-known labor attorney, recently gave some illustrations of the impact of the program on individuals. He said: "A man was denied security clearance, which he needed for his job, 'because his wife was a known Communist.' He was a bachelor.

"Another person lost his job because his photograph had been identified as that of a constant frequenter of Communist gatherings. Later he found out through sheer happenstance that the man who had made this (false) identification suffered from cataracts and was almost blind.

"An engineer caught his postman stealing Veterans Administration checks from the mail, pressed charges, and saw the postman go to jail. The postman's friends spread rumors about the engineer's home life and associations, and the engineer was denied clearance as a security risk. . . ."

Mayer declared that in the eastern region alone there are more than 1,100 cases pending before security boards. He pointed out: "Nobody knows how many have never secured vindication and have lost their occupation and their position in society because of charges equally groundless and because the present security system deprives them of that which is the essence of due process—the right of confrontation and cross-examination." He added that the cases usually take six months to a year to process and that many employees resign while their cases are pending "because they are disgusted, or because they don't have the money to present a case, or because they have no faith in a system which

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relies on statements of faceless people! . . ."

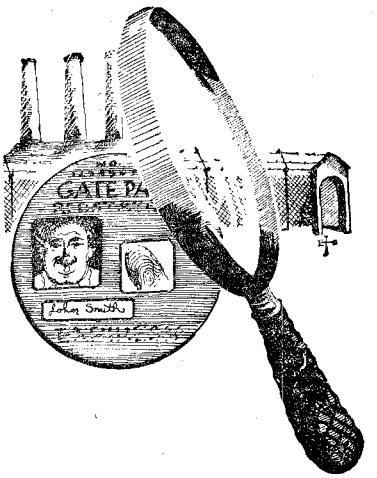
Abramson, too, cited several cases. For example, one of the criteria to be employed in denying clearance involves "treatment for a serious mental or neurological disorder." As a result, one employee was denied clearance because he was suffering from neuro-dermatitus, a skin disease!

The type of accusation which can hurl a citizen into this shadow world of weird charges brought by unknown informants is shown, too, in an industrial security case described in the Yarmolinsky case studies in personnel security. The man involved had worked for a government contractor for sixteen years, had access to classified materials, but in actual practice did not come in contact with classified materials.

He was denied a clearance by the army-navy-air force Personnel Security Board on the grounds that "you are alleged to be mentally or emotionally unstable." He answered the charges with several character affidavits, and was then told that the board had been abolished and that his case had been transferred to the Industrial Personnel Security Board in his area. Four months later, he was notified he had been denied clearance on the grounds that such clearance "was not clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

The notification gave the man no details, and three weeks later he was suspended from his job without pay. He then hired a lawyer and plunged into the security mill. Two months later, after asking for a hearing and specifications, he was notified by letter that the board had "carefully reviewed" the information concerning his alleged mental and unstable condition and that the basis of the charge was: "You have made numerous complaints to law enforcement agencies . . . to the effect that unknown individuals were flashing rays at members of your family; that various persons were spying on you, etc. . . ."

One month later, the hearing took place. It developed from his testimony that his wife became ill in 1947 and had started to have hallucinations. He testified that in response to her requests, he had visited a local F. B. I. office with her to report that "strangers were flashing



lights at her and spying on her." Also, he testified, he later visited the local police and personally reported his wife's complaint. The man produced a letter from his wife's physician, saying the wife had been considerably disturbed, and that her trouble, a thyroid condition, had since been cured. The Yarmolinsky report continued: "He testified that he had not at first been aware of his wife's illness, because they had been married a long time and she had been normal, and that her condition had come on gradually. . . ."

Two months after the hearing, he was granted clearance. He was reimbursed for the time lost. The total time between original notification and decision was nine and a half months. Before he got his back pay, dating from the original notification, the time elapsed was twelve and a half months. He paid his attorney $400, and when reinstated was assigned to a job that paid a salary of $100 less a month than his salary at the time he was suspended.

THE industrial security program has also had a potent effect on arbitration hearings. Prior to the Korean war, Mayer pointed out, arbitrators were inclined to rule that a worker engaged in non-restricted work be reinstated. One such case cited by Mayer was that of an employee who had refused to testify before a grand jury as to alleged subversive activities. The arbitrator in this case wrote: "If this company, and by implication, every private employer, were free to set up its own standards, its own trials, and its own punishments for violations of law, and to write guilty against any employee's name in its records, there would result a chaos of different trial procedures and perhaps the gravest injustices and damage to individual citizens. Even though such charges might often be subject to arbitration, as in the present case, it could not be said that the usual arbitration procedure provides anything approaching the due processes, guaranteed rights, and just uniformities which our courts can furnish. The company and the arbitrator should therefore walk patiently behind the law, or impatiently if they must, but nevertheless behind the law, in disciplining an employee on suspicion of communism. . . ."

Since the Korean war and the cold war, Mayer asserted, arbitrators have swung the other way. He said: "They have concluded, as a matter of public policy, that the security agreement which defense employers are obliged to sign with the Defense Department is superimposed on collective-bargaining contracts. They have uniformly held that, as an implied condition of employment, employees waive their constitutional protections such as those under the First and Fifth Amendments where the private employer's business is cloaked with a public interest or where there is a showing of financial damage to the employer resulting from the employee's constitutional plea, or disruptive activity among fellow employees ensues therefrom. This cloak of protection to employers has been extended to cover defense work, the newspaper business, and the entertainment world."

The correction of injustices will not, unfortunately, restore the reputations and former happy lives of many Americans who have been crushed by the program. However, it is at least possible, as the public's eyes are opened further to the damaging effect of the program, that a halt may be called to the trampling on free men's democratic rights. Dean Griswold of Harvard sounded a note of hope: "For myself, I have great faith in the sober second judgment of the people. The immediate reaction of the people, like that of any individual, may be hasty, emotional, irrational or unsound. But, when that phase is past, when we have had a real chance to think through our problems, I have confidence that the people will demand a better standard of conduct. . . ."

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HERR TIN LIZZIE

Saga of the Volkswagen . . *by Edgar Snow*

PERHAPS no single automobile since the tin lizzie has had such a spectacular rise to riches as the German Volkswagen, with its sturdy little air-cooled, frostproof, heatproof engine. In the past two years many Americans have also become Volkswagen-conscious. Without any advertising it has become the most popular foreign car in the United States, outselling its competition now two to one. Next year it will be made here—in a plant of its own in New Brunswick, New Jersey. All this might end by giving Americans a new concept of automotive values. To dramatize a little: If our present automobile owners overnight switched to Volkswagens it would have the effect of increasing available metropolitan parking space by about one-third, widening most streets and highways by ten to twenty feet, increasing national road capacities by about one-third, reducing passenger-car gas consumption by half, and enormously reducing traffic congestion—without any loss in average passenger load per car, legal cruising speeds, and safety.

NO SUCH miracle is in sight, but more and more Volkswagens certainly are. It is a car with a past and future and it has social as well as economic implications. It is also something of a financial and political enigma. Nobody here seems quite sure whether it is owned by the Bonn government or German labor unions—and hence the rumor that it is "socialistic." In fact it may yet be reorganized as a private enterprise—and quite possibly under its present manager-director and virtual commissar, Dr. Heinz Nordhoff. Its political career goes back to Adolf Hitler's promise to make it "the people's car"—and to "car people's" early jokes about it. Hitler had Robert Ley sell it to the public through his "strength-through-joy" movement. Nazi labor chiefs raised $70,000,000 from Germans who made advance payments for their "1,000-mark car"—which they never got. They did finance Volkswagen's prototypes and the Wolfsburg factory, but war came too soon and production went to the army.

Today the regenerated car is crowding the British in other markets besides ours. To overtake it they need something no less sensational than Ferguson's "mystery car." Yet ironically it was the British who turned down the chance to take over the Volkswagen package, for nothing. Ten years ago the Volkswagen plant lay in ruins when a British colonel, prowling Wolfsburg for reparations, examined it and concluded it wasn't worth picking up to take home. (Ugly little lass, don't you know, built like a ladybug, engine in the rear, and always popping—that sort of thing.)

Luckly for Hans, the occupation authorities needed transport, and repair shops. Hence they helped former Volkswagen technicians assemble enough new machinery to operate their badly crippled plant. Heinz Nordhoff, an automotive engineer trained by General Motors (at their German Opel plant), had made trucks for the Nazis. Before he could take over Wolfsburg, under Allied trusteeship, his name had to be removed from the American blacklist. Yet by the end of 1945 he had produced 713 vehicles from the ruins, mostly for British overlords. The following year, with the help of more Allied orders and equipment, production jumped twelve times.

Last summer 30,000 well-fed, well-clothed, well-paid—with the highest wage rate in Germany—Volkswagen workers paused to honor the production of the 1,000,000th car turned out since the war in the huge, completely rebuilt, and vastly expanded factory complex at Wolfsburg. Since then Volkswagen has replaced the British Motor Corporation as the world's fourth largest automobile manufacturer. In New York W. W. Van de Kamp, general manager for Volkswagen of America, told the writer that current daily production in Germany is now 1,350—about 400,000 annually. Output at the new American plant may soon bring the total up to half a million.

This year German car production will run close to 800,000, of which 47 per cent are for export. Wolfsburg accounts for about half the total and 54 per cent of all German cars shipped overseas are Volkswagens. On every continent the graph of recent German gains begins to parallel the story here. Volkswagen seriously entered the American market only in 1953, when its sales were 1,237. Last year they jumped to 6,342, a gain of 412 per cent. At the same time British cars, which had always led here, slumped by 14 per cent in the case of the Jaguar to as high as 47 and 50 per cent for the former best-selling MG and Austin-Morris. During the first six months of 1955 Volkswagen sales climbed to more than 10,000. Heinz Nordhoff, when he was here recently to negotiate the purchase of the former Studebaker-Packard plant, predicted a total sale of 35,000 imported units for the year. Orders are running six weeks to six months, in various models, ahead of deliveries. The capacity of the New Brunswick plant is 100,000 and Volkswagen officials believe it will be fully absorbed with little but word-of-mouth advertising.

NOW a fascinating thing about the whole Volkswagen saga is the fact that ever since 1948 all expansions of plant and sales and service facilities have been financed without any outside capital investment. That is, Volkswagen profits alone have proved adequate for everything. Pyramiding at a geometrical rate, these are now being turned to investment abroad, to compete with British and American exports. Few

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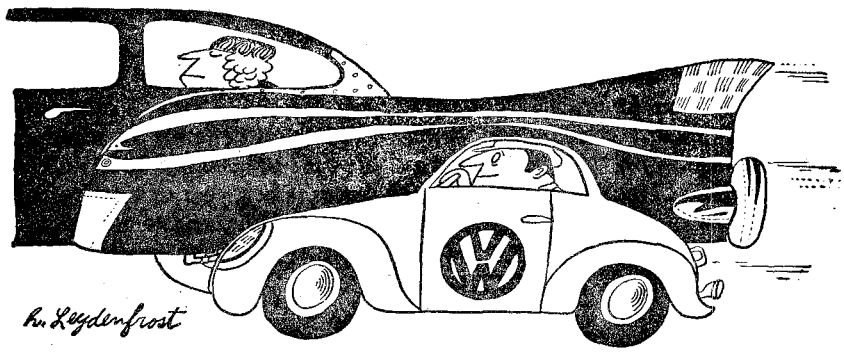

people realize the high rate of profit in the automobile business here at home. Even after taxes the net returns have been averaging 20 to 30 per cent on invested capital—a fact obscured by stock splits, extra dividends, etc. In the case of Volkswagen, currently run like a collectively-owned enterprise even if it is not legally so, the rate of net profit is unknown but must be at least as high as General Motors—which this year announced a billion-dollar profit, after taxes.

LOW-RENTAL housing developments, community centers with swimming pools and symphony orchestras, and 4 per cent annual wage dividends are among Nordhoff's means of spreading contentment among his workers in Germany—and a small slice of the profits. Similar attractions will doubtless be offered to workers here. Considering its capital structure, however, Volkswagen —with no stockholders to pay— should be able to produce its vehicles here at prices ruinous to small-car competition, whether domestic or foreign. The current price of the imported Volkswagen de luxe sedan, fully equipped including heater and turn signals, is $1,495 in New York. In Germany the same car sells for $902, according to the New York *Times* (October 2)—even though it is heavily dependent on imported American materials. One big distributor of foreign cars assures us that by substituting certain standard American parts, and importing German-made engines, transmissions, and a few other items, the Volkswagen people can certainly assemble all their models in America for about the same net cost as in Germany. Hence they can, if necessary, offer them here at German price equivalents or better.

All this may interest us for several reasons. Why has the German car attained sudden popularity in an American market where domestic car designs continue to follow conventional and exactly opposite assumptions? Is public taste changing? Wherein lies Volkswagen's superiority over the British—and other European—small-car competition? How is Detroit going to answer the challenge—if such a flea bite can yet be called a challenge? And what does the Volkswagen triumph in its own field signify, if anything, about future German-American industrial competition in foreign markets generally?

For those who haven't been personally introduced to the ladybug it may be said in passing that the standard model is 160 inches long, 59 inches high, durably upholstered, seats four adults, and has an all-steel body which *Science and Mechanics* testing engineers rate as "extremely rugged, noiseproof, and drum-tight —the driest record of any car (tested) to date." They add that its "hydraulic brakes are excellent" and its "pothole-eating individual wheel suspension calms down even the cobbliest roads," while "as a road-hugger on curves this car ranks with the best." The engine has four forward speeds, one an overdrive which gives fifty miles to the gallon—if you can bear poking along at twenty miles per hour. At fifty m. p. h. the Volkswagen gives thirty-six miles to the gallon and cruising at sixty it makes better than thirty miles to the gallon. With its air-cooling system the engine requires no anti-freeze, and has better pick-up than most cars. The Volkswagen company also makes a foldback sunroof model to sell here for $1,575, a sporty little convertible for $1,995, and for the same price offers a swank station wagon which looks like a family-size bus and seats eight or nine.

With Germanic thoroughness and efficiency, Volkswagen did not enter the American market until it had set up good service facilities to protect its reputation. Today it has fourteen distributors and 800 dealers throughout the United States and Canada. Service and parts are highly accessible on the East and West coasts, and adequate in most populous areas. Standard performance for the car is 70,000 miles without engine trouble. Many owners pride themselves on being able to handle minor repairs with special kits provided in the tool panel inside the hood of each car. Several years ago Heinz Nordhoff offered a reward of a gold watch to every Volkswagen owner who drove over 60,000 miles without a major repair job or replacement. Swamped with valid claimants, he soon had to withdraw his offer. This is one reason why the relative resale value of Volkswagens is incomparably higher than any American car. Another is the fact that the main lines of Volkswagen body design have not changed for ten years. Even in Europe Volkswagens rarely appear on the used-car auction block.

AMERICAN car manufacturers so far have discounted small-car competition by insisting that it makes no sense to buy one when you can get a standard American car a year old for no more than the price of a Volkswagen. They overlook the fact that such an American used car may already have cost its first owner about $1,000 in depreciation—in a period when a Volkswagen value would have dropped scarcely a fifth of that. Furthermore, the second owner of the American car must face serious repair-job risks while heavy depreciation automatically continues.

There is no doubt that the large car will always be in demand in American suburban and rural areas or wherever long distance travel is involved or money is no factor. So far the Volkswagen has sold more readily to the family ready for a second car. But Will Van de Kemp pointed out to us that this category already includes 20 per cent of all present American car-owners—no picayune market in itself. If depreciation and maintenance-operation costs continue to mount on large cars the one-car family—urbanite or

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exurbanite—may also find relief in something like Volkswagen.

As the chauffeur becomes obsolete for all but very wealthy Americans, Detroit's redundant emphasis on bloated bigness for bigness's sake alone becomes more and more banal. (Mercury's '56 ad campaign frankly relies on nothing but trite repetition of the word "big".) Traffic experts agreed at an almost wholly unreported meeting of the American Safety Association in Washington a short time ago that American cars nowadays are carrying far too much power, which under present conditions is an increasing menace to the life and limb of both driver and pedestrian. Extravagant overuse of materials and superfluous extension of rear and front space in many models feed vanity more than any real need. And such features are offered at the sacrifice of things rapidly becoming more important to the average insurance-ridden, gas-exploited owner-driver, namely: economy of initial cost, and of operation and maintenance, low depreciation, maneuverability in growingly impossible urban traffic, and ease of parking.

One veteran distributor of British cars—himself an American—said that the latter factors are indeed only now beginning to play a part in foreign sales. "Up till recently," he said, "it has been the foreign look—the snob appeal, the desire to be different—that sold all imported cars, whether low-priced or high-priced. Secondly it was power. The main reason Volkswagen has been doing so phenomenally well—I'll admit it—is because it offers a degree of power no other small car in the same price field possesses. To get into the mass sales, however, a car now has to have all the general performance features of an American car—and better. Volkswagen has that, too." He didn't see much hope of British recovering foreign-car predominance here; the Germans had got too much of a lead in the low-price field now. What about American competition, then?

"Ah, Detroit. They're too complacent; they may be missing the boat. I should talk that way about an industry selling 8,000,000 cars this year? What's Volkswagen to that? It all depends on whether they hit that 100,000 mark. If Volkswagen passes it in a year or two Detroit will have to sit up and take notice. Then—it just could be too late."

IT MAY barely be too late to catch up to the little ladybug in overseas markets. It is moving in everywhere from the Andes to Japan—an ideal car for most of the world so much poorer than ourselves. Is it portentous of rising German competition in other lines? Armaments, for one thing—now that Germany is fully restored to the club? Volkswagen obviously thinks so. A prudent desire to have an independent source of steel—in a period when the Ruhr will be tooling up again for a revived German arms industry—was a clinching argument in favor of opening the New Brunswick plant.

TALK WITH CHOU EN-LAI

Wants Formosa—and Peace . . . *by Gerald Bailey*

I SPENT most of the month of October in Communist China as a member of an official delegation from the Society of Friends in Great Britain—incidentally the first religous delegation from a non-Communist Western country to go there since what the Chinese Communists call Liberation. We spent most of our time in Peking, but we also visited Shanghai, Nanking, and Canton and at one point divided our team of six to visit Tientsin and West China respectively.

A primary purpose of our visit was to express the good will of Friends—and of many others in Britain—to the Chinese people. British Quakers, like the American Quakers, have had many links with China in the past through missionary work, teaching, and the activities of the British-American Friends Ambulance Unit. We were anxious to renew these old contacts. We were eager also to visit with Chinese Christians and see how they were faring. As it turned out, we spent much of our time with Christians, finding no obstacle at all in making contact with them.

But we also went to China with a special concern for the problems of peace and in the hope of breaking down in some measure the country's isolation from the West. Quakers have played some small part at the United Nations and in the various capitals in trying to encourage constructive solutions of the Far Eastern crisis, and we desired to pursue this purpose within the limits open to us. American Quakers have long shared with us the desire to make contacts with the new China and in this regard we considered ourselves in some degree as speaking for them as well as for ourselves. Beyond that we were well enough aware of the central importance of American policies and attitudes toward Communist China as well as of Peking's toward Washington. We could not profess to put the American point of view authentically, but we were much concerned to do what was possible to encourage Sino-American understanding.

We came across very little virulent anti-American propaganda and, as far as I can remember, no anti-Americanism as such. The official declarations on foreign affairs in the newspapers and agency releases continued, of course, to castigate American Far Eastern policy. Some of our number visited an Exhibition of American Espionage in Chungking which had already been visited

GERALD BAILEY, a British Quaker, is serving as a Quaker observer at the U. N. In 1951 he visited the Soviet Union as a member of a Friends' mission.

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by 600,000 people in that city and had previously been shown in most of the major cities of the country. This exhibition, devoted to dramatizing the alleged missions of the American aircraft brought down in China, had clearly the effect, if not the intention, of stimulating animosities against the United States government. But we saw little reflection of this hostile official line in the attitudes of the people we met.

Moreover, we heard plenty of statements at official level which were distinctliy conciliatory not only toward the American people but toward the government as well. We had a relaxed and friendly conversation lasting two hours with Chou En-lai, who is both Premier and Foreign Minister. Much of this conversation was devoted to Sino-American relations and in the main the Premier's remarks about the United States were, to say the least, not unsympathetic. There was a touch of asperity, perhaps, in his emphasis on the sovereign status of the People's Republic when he alleged that some of the American nationals remaining in China had committed offenses against Chinese laws and could only be released—though they would be released—when their cases had been reviewed. But on the question of relations in general, the Premier was positive and sympathetic—even wistful. "The American and Chinese people," he said, "have always been friendly; only in the past ten years has there been estrangement. Once the Chinese people have contacts with Americans again, that friendship can be restored. Ten years ago I knew many Americans and count them as my friends. I wonder how they are now; some of them may have changed, but not all."

ON THE question of resumed intercourse between his country and the United States, the Premier's emphasis was on the need for reciprocity in visits between the two countries and on the responsibility of the United States for the present barriers. "There is no bamboo curtain here," he said. "The blockade is maintained against us by others." Or. as he put it with mild irony at an earlier point: "There seems to be some difficulty in the United States." He was insistent that any American would be welcome to visit

Premier Chou En-lai

China. "But there must be reciprocity," he said. "There is a Chinese saying which runs: 'It is discourteous not to pay a return visit.' " And that, he reminded me, was said "by Confucius, who was not a Marxist." But whatever precisely constitutes "a bamboo curtain," it is still impossible for individuals to get in or out of China save as members of approved delegations or on diplomatic business; curtain or no, there are still effective obstacles to any normal intercourse between China and the West. The most one can say is that the Peking government seems ready for some measured and gradual opening-up of contacts on a reciprocal basis. We urged upon the Premier that this process should be accelerated, in particular by the exchange of responsible press correspondents between Peking and the West and by a greater exchange of publications. Both suggestions were well received by Chou En-lai and are to be followed up.

The major questions affecting international peace and Sino-American relations—the problem of recognition and the separate one of Peking's representation in the U. N., as well as the crucial issue of Formosa —were effectively discussed on two occasions only. One was during the interview with the Premier, the other in the course of lengthy discussion with a group which included, in addition to officials of the Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Education, Chang Hsi-jo, and Chiao Kuan-hua, member of the Foreign Office and chief adviser on foreign affairs to Chou En-lai. This latter discussion ranged widely. Chiao Kuan-hua critically examined the (to him) unacceptable distinction maintained in British policy between the offshore islands of Quemoy and the Matsus, and Formosa itself. "There are a group of islands off the Chinese coast of which the largest is Formosa. The only difference between them is in their size and distance from the mainland. They are all Chinese. They must all be liberated."

On the question of the admission of Communist China to the U. N., as much was said about the alleged inconsistencies of British policy as about the hostility of American policy. In our talk with Chou En-lai, we had laid some stress on the need for patience if present misunderstandings and divisions were to be removed. "As for patience," said Chou En-lai, "China has plenty. It has six times been refused admission to the U. N.; the U. N. ignores China which has 600,000,000 people! China is indeed being patient . . . the British recognize China and yet in the U. N. they vote for Chiang Kai-shek!" All this appeared to be said more in sorrow than in anger. There is no question that this "absurdity"—Peking's exclusion from the U. N.—is a real issue with the Chinese. But they do not talk as if it was a matter of life and death for *them*. In fact, they suggest that if rectification of this injustice is too long delayed it will be the U. N., not Communist China, that has "missed the boat."

I HAVE indicated that the Formosan question was discussed both with the Foreign Affairs Institute and with the Premier. Chou En-lai said in effect: This is an internal affair of China—a matter of the completion of our civil war—in which the United States is interfering militarily and unwarrantedly. Chiang Kai-shek started this civil war himself nine years ago and as a result his forces have steadily diminished. China's policy, however, is still to strive for the peaceful liberation of Formosa. Because there are two Germany's, two Koreas, two Vietnams, people assume that there can be two Chinas. But that is impossible. The situation of China is quite different. And in a related reference to diplomatic recognition of his government by the United States, the Premier said: "The United States does not recognize us.

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But China can wait a hundred years and perhaps in the 101st year the United States will recognize us. The new China will still exist. I repeat, we shall have patience."

We did not on this occasion press for a more precise interpretation of the phrase, "the peaceful liberation of Formosa." My own assessment of the Chinese position would be as follows. They will not, of course, go to war deliberately for Formosa in the sense of directly challenging the United States Seventh Fleet. They are prepared to wait quite a time, believing they have a just cause and that sooner or later it will prevail. They are ready—even eager—to talk about Formosa with the United States and even with Chiang Kai-shek himself. Chou En-lai went out of his way to emphasize that a settlement of the Formosan question required talks "at the highest level" with the United States. But the Chinese will not be dissuaded from completing the last bit of their revolution by integrating Formosa into the rest of China. So by "the peaceful liberation of Formosa" they mean that they hope (and probably expect) to get it without war. They will negotiate its peaceful transfer to them; manifestly, therefore, a limited form of negotiation on the subject is still possible.

IT SHOULD be added that we saw or heard little evidence of any undue excitement on the Formosa issue among the general public. (It may be different on the coast facing Formosa to which we did not go.) It is true that in places like the Winter Palace in Peking where thousands congregate at week-ends, large posters are displayed showing Formosa in relation to mainland China and bearing liberation slogans. Smaller posters on the same theme are fairly widespread. And the chairman of the agricultural cooperative in the village we visited finished his factual exposition with a declaration of the need to liberate Formosa! His point was, of course, that everyone down to even the smallest village cooperative must maintain production in order not to let down the armed services and to help achieve the liberation of Formosa. Thus China is using the Formosan issue to maintain the sense of external hostility ("American intervention in our affairs") and to serve as a stimulus for production. In this sense it might be a little awkward for China if and when it ever gets Formosa, just as, one supposes, it might be a little awkward for the United States and even Britain if peace really broke out.

FRANCE'S UNIQUE LEFT

Barriers to Unity . . *by Raymond Barrillon*

Paris

> It is a fact that France has no organized Left. There are leftist currents in the several parties, there are leftist individuals and tendencies, but there is no organized Left which can propose revolutionary solutions to the problems which now cause uneasiness to the nation.

Are these lines, published in *Le Jacobin* in September, 1953, still true? It is tempting to answer in the affirmative, although the New Left finally made its entry into public life a short while ago. The statement made by *Le Jacobin* made no claims to novelty; and similarly the promoters of the New Left are only the most recent spokesmen of a desire for renovation and change which has been almost continuous in France since the end of *tripartisme* in 1947. It is the nature of the French Left to be in perpetual search of itself.

There follows an inventory of the Left forces which aim at regrouping, or which at least would be willing to participate in one.

The *Mouvement de Liberation* (M. L. O.) and the *Mouvement de liberation du Peuple* (M. L. P.) are the most important among the so-called "Christian" groups. The M. L. O., which refuses much more sharply than the M. L. P. to be described as a political party, devotes itself for the most part to such tasks as family assistance or facilities for workers' vacations. The M. L. P. has always maintained a rather marked suspicion of "intellectualism" as against the primacy of action; it is among those which go the farthest toward an understanding with the far Left.

Pierre Mendes-France

La Jeune Republique had been in existence for forty-two years when it was joined by Mr. Andre Denis, ousted from the Gaullist M. R. P.; and from this fact it drew considerable support. The question is whether it can maintain this advantage. Its chief problem is to act along secular lines without losing the support of those who remember its religious origins.

Among the non-Christian groups, the first to be mentioned is the *Union Progressive,* born in 1950 through the fusion of three distinct groups. Resolutely Marxist, the U. P. compensates for its small Parliamentary representation (since 1951, only four deputies) by the coherence of its policies, for all practical purposes patterned after those of the Communists. The *Club des Jacobins,* founded in 1951, aimed more at a regeneration of the several big parties than at the formation of a

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new one. It disbanded in 1953, but is survived by a newspaper of the same name and of the same political complexion.

Finally, we might mention certain people eminent enough to be able to count on a following—whether of readers, as in the case of M. Claude Bourdet, editor of *France-Observateur,* or of political friends, as MM. Louis Vallon or Rene Capitant, formerly members of the R. P. F.

JUST AS lassitude and skepticism of French political figures were in men's hearts long before the arrival of M. Mendes-France to power, the first attempts at concerted leftist action considerably antedate his ministry. So it was that the *Centre d'action des gauches independentes,* itself the offspring of two previous organizations, came into being in 1951. It aimed less at being a party than a "compromise between various tactical conceptions," but it had a program which may seem banal today, yet which at the time was courageous and lucid: opposition to the excesses of colonialism, to the war in Indo-China, and to the E. D. C. It sought a French foreign policy which would be independent of the two blocs, a kind of international Third Force such as is so much in the air today. But not long before the investiture of Mr. Mendes-France, it was realized that the pro-provinces, less fastidious than Paris in their choice of allies, had succeeded in forming a broader union. The success gained under the New Left ticket in the municipal elections at Le Havre in May of 1954 were a lesson in themselves to many of the movement's leaders.

The result was that the C. A. G. I. invited the *Jeune Republique* and the *Union Progressiste* to join the new grouping. The three movements named representatives to a *Comite de liaison et d'initiative de la Nouvelle Gauche* (C. L. I. N. G.). But at its first meeting in June, 1954, the difficulties began; the *Jeune Republique* balked at the demand of the *Progressistes* that one of their deputies be given a place in the executive committee—it had no intention of compromising itself with those who were too close to the Communist Party. Such was the failure of the meetings in December, 1954, whose only result was to transform the committee of liaison into the *Comite national de la Nouvelle Gauche* (C .N. N. G.), in which each of the organizations would have equal representation.

But the seven months of the Mendes-France experiment had aroused other hopes which at the end of 1954 found an echo in public opinion. Oddly paired otherwise, but linked by a mutual admiration for M. Mendes-France, MM. Francois Mauriac and Andre Malraux chose Christmas week to give birth to the idea of a liberal New Left, based on the political experiment then going on, and one of whose principal creators was to be M. Francois Mitterand, the third "M". *This* New Left has not clearly defined itself, and one can say nothing about what its program would be except by reference to Mendes-France himself. But in comparison to what we shall call for convenience's sake the first New Left, three fundamental differences quickly appear.

FIRST, there is a difference of evaluation of the Mendes-France ministry. While the first New Left judges the second "period" of this ministry severely—after the ratification of the treaty of Paris, that is—MM. Malraux and Mauriac draw no such subtle distinction. What counts for them is the "new style" and the fresh bloom infused by Mendes-France into French politics and policies.

Secondly, whereas the first New Left cannot but pose the problem of cooperation with the Communist Party, the "three M's" have other ideas, to judge from an analysis by Maulraux: "It can be guessed that the Communists have about 400,000 faithful votes. Add another million. But there are 5,000,000 Communist voters. The margin? Three and a half million. Whereas the whole French Left, since the liberation, has been conceived as a Communist satellite, a new situation could subordinate the Communist Party to the Left, electorally speaking; and this could quickly have consequences far beyond the electoral plane."

Thirdly, the advocates of the second New Left seem to be aiming less at a new party—which Mendes-France himself has judged superfluous—than at a new state of mind. From all this it is evident that the Malraux-Mauriac movement's future depends heavily on that of Mendes-France.

Besides having to overcome the difficulties inherent in their own alliance, the advocates of the New Left had also to define their tactics in regard to the two big parties which have a virtual monopoly of the votes of the proletariat, or in any case of the proletariat's Parliamentary representation.

What to hope for from the Socialists? Since almost the only bond holding the New Left together was opposition to German rearmament, how could its leaders compromise with Socialist leaders at the very moment when the latter were ejecting from their party the opponents of E. D. C.? They could not, and did not even try.

Then what position to take in regard to the Communists? "If the leftist groups unite," said one of the founders of the New Left in 1953, "they will not run the risk of being duped by the Communists, and when negotiations between them begin, they may even be able to change certain Communist positions." It was an excellent principle, but it was not long before the New Left saw that it was far from united in its attitude toward the Communists.

The common fight against the E. D. C. has strengthened the conviction of the non-Marxist Left that the time for systematic anti-communism has passed. Although the de Gaulle movement was born partly out of the fear of communism, those of the Gaullists who are attracted to the idea of a New Left have abandoned their former ostracism of the Communists. Thus M. Rene Capitant, while affirming himself to be a "determined adversary of the Communist regime," writes: "The coalition of parties on the Left necessarily includes the Communist Party. . . . We have entered one of those periods where alliance with the Communists is again possible, as in 1936 or 1944. . . ."

AND while the debate continues on what tack to follow in regard to the Communist Party, the latter views these upstarts without excessive indulgence. True, M. Jacques Duclos has distinguished between the different tendencies of the New Left. Rejecting the "Mendes-France

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men, who have simply usurped the label New Left," he seemed to accept "men opposed to the renaissance of German militarism and resolved to work alongside of the Communist Party to check the government's war policy." But he added, "It is important to show that those who claim to want to change French policy without the Communists, and consequently against them, in the end aim only at prolonging the existing state of things." The party's real interests are elsewhere; recently Maurice Thorez spoke of union not with the New Left, but with the Socialists.

The New Left is the expression of a current both traditional and necessary to the life of French politics. But it has lost one of its most powerful poles of attraction with the ratification of the Paris treaties, and while German rearmament has been voted, M. Mendes-France is no longer head of the government. To take a new lease on life, the New Left needs another opportunity. One hopes it will not be offered by another Dien Bien Phu.

BIG MONEY FARMING

More Acres, Fewer Men . . . *by M. M. Gaffney*

A LITTLE heeded but radical and portentous change has been quietly transforming the American farm landscape. Many a field has changed hands these last decades, many an old fence line given way to new. Although each transaction has had its own motivations the aggregate displays an unmistakable trend. The medium-sized American farm—the traditional 160-acre homestead—is clearly on the wane.

From 1920 to 1950 the number of farms containing from ten to 260 acres dwindled from 5,500,000 to 4,100,000. The number of American farms of all sizes fell in that thirty-year interval by one million, from 6,400,000 to 5,400,000. The land yielded up by these disappearing enterprises has been, in the main, consolidated by the larger farms. The acreage held by farms 1,000 acres and over increased swiftly—from 221,000,000 in 1920 to 495,000,000—or 43 per cent of the farm acreage—by 1950.

These giants comprise only 2.3 per cent of all farms, and as they increased their acreage they also increased the average quality of their lands. Values per acre of the land in farms 1,000 acres and over have been rising noticeably relative to values in smaller farms. In several Eastern states values per acre in the larger farms are now actually higher than values in smaller farms, although this is not true in all regions.

M. MASON GAFFNEY is assistant professor of economics at North Carolina State College.

What is the background of this striking trend? Professor C. V. Dominguez, Argentine student of land policies, once observed that, in the wake of land reforms, giant farm holdings "reconstitute themselves inexorably." This does indeed seem to be the history of the many instances when governments have undertaken to distribute land more equally among those who operated it. In America we had our land reform in the nineteenth century. We entered the twentieth with a preponderance of medium-sized farms, the heritage of equalitarian policies of land distribution which, while often honored in the breach, still set us apart from, say, Latins. And where federal policies failed, our state and local governments often, by accident or design, broke up large neo-feudal or speculative holdings through the property tax, on which they relied heavily for financing public functions and improvements.

BUT TODAY the public domain is gone, and while the income-yielding capacity of farm land has increased enormously, property taxes have receded to a minor place in the national tax structure. In these new circumstances farm land has become an attractive investment for the well-to-do with surplus funds seeking an outlet. Their spirited bidding has driven land prices up beyond the reach of many small farmers, and farm land, like most attractive investments, has tended to become concentrated in a few strong hands. Thus the middle-class farmer is losing numbers, while the giant holdings "reconstitute themselves inexorably."

Some have interpreted this trend as a move toward greater "efficiency," pointing to the higher outputs per man and machine that are possible when they have more good land to range over—for most analysts agree that the larger farms generally use must less labor and equipment per dollar of land value. This narrow concept of efficiency has satisfied on one end of the ideological spectrum, the largest landholders, and on the other the Marxists—since both hold great faith in agricultural gigantism. Its obvious weakness lies in its total disregard for good land that may be underused in achieving high outputs per man and per machine.

Smaller farmers, lacking enough land to employ themselves or their equipment fully, could take additional land and put it to more productive use than those already oversupplied. In 1940 farms of 1,000 acres and more planted only 45 per cent of the land available to them for crops. An efficient use of all resources would seem to call for shifting some land from those who have more than they can contrive to work intensively to those whose enterprise is cramped for lack of an adequate land base. This follows the basic economic principle of transferring resources from where they are abundant to where they are scarce, in this instance from the land-glutted to the land-starved.

But the trend in America has been the opposite. Those who have been

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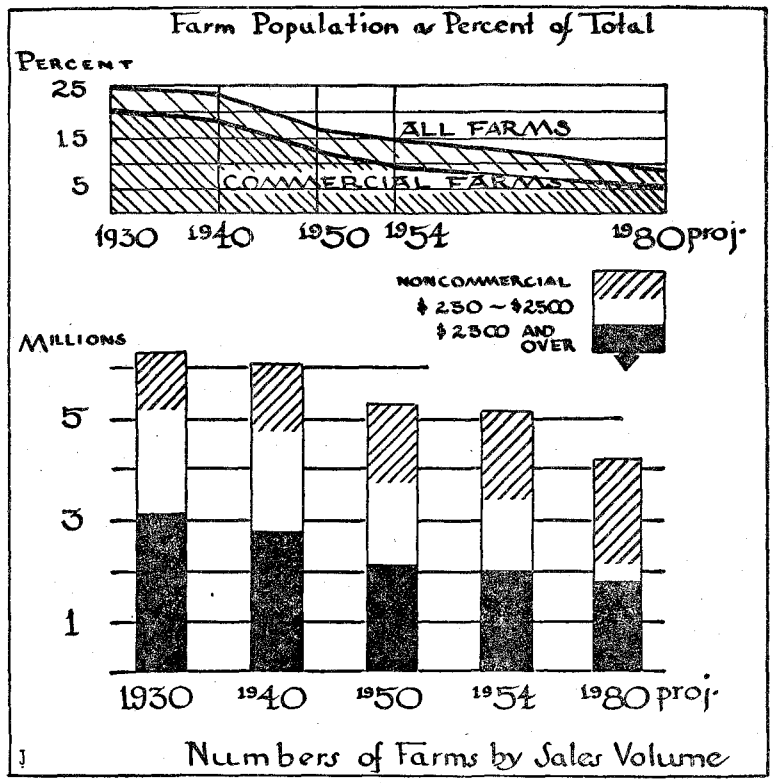
laying field to field are, on the whole, exactly those with enough and more than enough land to complement their labor and capital. The trend has been to separate most of the farm proprietors and improvements from most of the farm land. Various studies by farm economists have shown ten and twenty times more men per dollar of land value on small farms in such areas as the Ozarks, Appalachians, and marginal zones in Utah and New Mexico than on, for example, the vast and fertile farms of Iowa.

The larger farms, it is true, have more capital equipment, but it is often overlooked that they have less capital equipment per dollar of land value. The 1940 census, last to give this information, reported that there were sixteen times more dollars of building value per dollar of land value on farms three acres and under, than on farms 1,000 acres and over (and between these extremes the proportion of building to land value became steadily less as the farms became larger).

A great deal has been said about farms expanding to accommodate new forms of large-scale machinery. There are many small farms which could doubtless have benefited a great deal by expanding, but these are not on the whole the ones that have expanded. They have tended to grow smaller, or be replaced with even smaller farms. The expanding farms have in general been those already large enough to achieve savings from large-scale mechanization.

The census reports the number of farms falling within various size brackets, as well as the total acreage held by the farms in each bracket. From these figures one can compute the average size of the farms in each bracket. Comparing 1920 with 1950 again, in each of the upper brackets the average has risen toward the top limit of the bracket, while in each of the lowest it has descended. On top of the heap the average size of farms 1,000 acres and over increased from about 3,300 up almost to 4,100 acres. At the bottom the average farm under three acres fell from 1.7 to 1.4 acres.

This pattern of change is hard to reconcile with the idea of a mechanical revolution as the prime mover. If a technological imperative determined farm sizes it would make them cluster, one would think, about some



Despite increasing farm production, farm population and the number of individual farms continue to decrease. The answer lies in the fact that the large farms grow larger, and increase their productivity, even while their total number grows smaller. Statistics from Fortune, *June, 1955.*

central optimum prescribed by operating economies. But in fact, they are racing away from each other toward the two extremes, the large getting larger and the small smaller.

Today, as population has increased, as new demands, improved techniques, and farm-price supports have enhanced the income-producing capacity of farm land, as interest rates have declined absolutely and land taxes relatively, farm-land titles have become a much more attractive investment than once they were.

PRICES of these titles, while they have their downs as well as their ups, have stood in this century on the whole much higher than in the last. This means that those who buy land with surplus funds—as an investment, an income, a hedge against inflation, a provision for grandchildren, a good speculation, or what you will—have a new advantage over the impecunious young farmer trying to secure an operating unit of sufficient size to produce an adequate return for his labors. In the competition for land titles today, good husbandry counts for less, financial power for more. And in the arena of finance, more than any other, "him that has gets." A large debt-free landholding provides a surplus of funds for additional investments, collateral security for loans, and social position to facilitate advantageous alliances. As additional factors, one might mention the superior ability of larger landholders to secure political favors such as low tax assessments, forgiveness of delinquent taxes, access to cheap foreign labor, and government price supports for their products. And so the race for land titles goes more and more to those who already have.

Many sincere citizens have regretfully accepted for agriculture the economic philosophy of scarcity that they condemn in other industries. For them, the present trend has its compensations. To lock up much of our good underused land in large holdings, while much labor and capital hibernate in confined quarters, is a most effective way to hold down production. It also tends to choke off investment opportunities, flood the labor market, and raise the price of necessities. Those who agree with R. H. Tawney that "a society is rich when material goods are cheap and . . . human beings dear" do not find the trend so welcome.

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BOOKS

Master in His Own House

YEAR OF DECISIONS. Memoirs by Harry S. Truman. Volume One. Doubleday and Company. $5.

By George Dangerfield

NO TWO PRESIDENTS could be more dissimilar than James K. Polk and Harry S. Truman, nor are the circumstances under which they came to office even faintly analogous. But Polk's famous "I intend *myself* to be President of the United States" exactly summarizes the central theme of *Year Of Decisions*. At his first Cabinet meeting, held within two hours after the news of Franklin Roosevelt's death, Truman told the shaken and discouraged men around him that "I would be President in my own right and that I would assume full responsibility for such decisions as had to be made." On his own confession, Truman did not feel that he had become President in his own right until September 6, 1945, when he launched the Fair Deal with a twenty-one point message to Congress. By that time most of the great events which are covered in this book had already taken place. The San Francisco Conference, the surrender of Germany, the Potsdam Conference, the beginning of the atomic age, the surrender of Japan—all these were Rooseveltian events, in which Truman was little more than the executor of Roosevelt's policies. The decision he really had to make was one which a less valiant nature might have avoided, and a more ordinary one might have botched—it was the decision to be master in his own house, to impress upon a skeptical or hostile environment the image of a President who intended to be respected and who was worthy of respect.

After the greatness and the fascination of Franklin Roosevelt, a successor who looks like everybody else could seem only an anomaly—a deviation from the order of history and even of nature—a revivification of that obsolete principle (should one call it "Jacksonian"?) which had once insisted that any rational American was competent to the business of government. As regards the Presidency, this principle hardly survived the election of 1840 and it was manifestly disproved by the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan: but it has lingered on in the Vice-Presidency, casual, cheerful and unreformed, ready to pounce upon an unsuspecting country whenever a President dies in office.

Harry Truman was a plain man in his manners and his habits, and although he was anything but an ordinary man nobody (except, I think, himself) seems to have realized it. The theory that a man grows up with the Presidency had been so flatly contradicted by Coolidge and Hoover that it could not easily be revived in favor of Truman. He was nominated to the Vice-Presidency because he was "safe"—not a reassuring word—and the story of how the nomination was accepted, as he tells it in this book, is even less reassuring.

He had been selected far in advance of the Chicago convention, but nobody had bothered to tell him, and when Robert Hannegan told him at Chicago, he couldn't believe it. Even a scrap of paper with "Bob, it's Truman, FDR" written on it failed, strange to say, to convince him. He was sitting unhappily in Mr. Hannegan's bedroom in the Blackstone Hotel when President Roosevelt telephoned from San Diego. The President always shouted into the telephone, so that Truman could easily hear both ends of the conversation. "Bob, have you got that fellow lined up yet?" "No, he is the contrariest Missouri mule I've ever dealt with." "Well, you tell him, if he wants to break up the Democratic Party in the middle of a war, that's his responsibility." Truman sat down on one of the twin beds. "Well," he said finally, "if that is the situation, I'll have to say yes, but why the hell didn't he tell me in the first place." He was nominated the next day, and within nine months he was President.

Drawing by Berger

He entered upon his new duties in a mood of deep and touching humility. But, as we read these memoirs, we can see that the typical Truman panache—a kind of jaunty, sparrow-like self-confidence—rather quickly asserted itself. "Dear Mamma & Mary," he wrote on July 3, ". . . . I am getting ready to go see Stalin & Churchill, and it is a chore. I have to take my tuxedo, tails . . . preacher coat, high hat, low hat and hard hat as well as sundry other things." As for his fellow Triumvirs, one gets the impression that one of them, at any rate, expected to encounter a somewhat *ersatz* figure. Churchill writes in *Triumph and Tragedy* that he was "eager to meet a potentate" with whom he was acquainted only through a not always friendly correspondence. The word "potentate," which suggests, among other things, an Asiatic despot and a titular officer in a fraternal organization, is possibly the last word one would associate with the duties and the dignity of a President of the United States.

Yet it was curiously apposite to the ambiguous status of President Truman when he arrived in Potsdam. On the one hand, with all the prestige of his office, with his immense wartime powers, with the wealth of America behind him and the atom bomb as good as in his pocket, he was potentially the most important figure in the world. On the other hand, he had the appearance (though the appearance was delusive) of someone who might have strolled out of *The Innocents*

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Abroad. As a matter of fact, Churchill was immediately impressed with Truman's "evident power of decision"; and Truman, though he manifestly disliked this kind of conference, seems to have taken the whole thing in his stride. He was at most his predecessor's representative; he could not be held responsible for the failures of Potsdam.

This is the weakness of *Year of Decisions*, that it is chiefly concerned with a period when Truman could not really be held responsible; and its sporadic documentation and rather flat expositions of great events are certainly of no help. Its strength and importance lie elsewhere—in its truly remarkable feat of self-portraiture. Here the very flatness of the style conjures up once again the image of that valiant and forthright figure from whom—even when he grew brash and brassy, even when his promises went one way and his performances another—it was difficult to withdraw one's affection and admiration.

I should say that, next to the pertinent volumes of John Quincy Adams's Diary, and lagging a long way behind them in variety and power, this is the most candid and absorbing account of himself that any President has given us. Adams was morbidly anxious to prove—and the proof was not difficult—that his Presidency was a failure. *Year of Decisions* is the first volume of a two-volume opus. The meat is still to come. But the reader can be pretty certain that Truman will not see his own Presidency in that discouraging light.

The Outposts of the Media

THE EXURBANITES. By A. C. Spectorsky with Illustrations by Robert Osborn. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.95.

By Gilbert Seldes

I SHALL be curious to see under what heading librarians list this book and I am glad I do not have to decide between humor, sociology, Americana, and even polite letters. In most of these categories, "The Exurbanites" is good work and I think that it must be the pioneer book on its subject written for the layman—written in fact for the people it is about.

They are the inhabitants of certain regions within an hour or two of New York, commuters with a difference, employed in the major communications and entertainment businesses, the aristocracy of the manipulators of symbols by which we live: sponsors and copy-writers and novelists and actresses and commentators and publishers. How they live in the country, not in the town, in the far better homes and gardens that grow into farms, in Bucks County and Fairfield and Rockland, with only a glance at the North Shore and Westchester, their drinking habits and social taboos, the trains they make and miss, the proper stakes at poker and why a Volkswagen or a jeep signifies greater wealth at the railroad station than a Jaguar or a Cadillac—these are some of the themes. (The Volks or the jeep "presumes that the Cadillac is being used to take the children to scnool!")

Where my own experience guides me, I am inclined to say that this is a remarkably perceptive report; my reservations begin when I go out of my depth: I can't quite believe that Nyack differs so much from Westport and I can't believe some of the anecdotes, the illustrative stories—I think they are combinations and syntheses. I do not, moreover, take to the name Mr. Spectorsky has given to his region: "the exurb is generally further from New York than the suburb on the same railway line . . . its houses more widely spaced . . . and the further one lives from the station the better." It is still a suburb. As for the people, whom I still call "commuters," they are "exurbanites" because "they will always be urbanites at heart."

All this strikes me as self-justification which the book doesn't at all need: it deals with people of significance far beyond their numerical importance and it penetrates to the core of their lives by showing us how they live and want to live. "The exurbanite . . . is an idea man . . ." whether he composes songs or commercial jingles, directs a Broadway show or does the layout for an advertisement or sells time or space. (Mr. Spectorsky might well analyse the mentality, which, without ever thinking about it, sells these two abstractions.) He is "a singularly commercial merchant of dreams for the rest of the nation. . . . These people, God save us all, set the styles, mold the fashions, and populate the dreams of the rest of the country. . . . What they tell us to buy, by God, we buy." From our political opinions to the color of our toilet paper, we are conditioned by the people whose interests and worries, whose tastes and ambitions, are here described.

This is not done by studies of communities in the style of William H. Whyte, Jr.'s brilliant series of articles in *Fortune;* and it is not a study of the communications arts either, although we get a glimpse of how the competition in the marketplace operates, how it affects the home life. It does not pretend to cover anything but the life in what it calls "Exurbia" and that it covers in fine detail, from the annual budget to the fight for better schools,

GILBERT SELDES is the author of "The Seven Lively Arts," "The Great Audience," and editor of "The Portable Ring Lardner."

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HOW FAR THE PROMISED LAND?

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from some cruel games (revealing in their cruelty) to some (not too many) pleasant aspects of life among the well-to-do. I have a feeling that the top brass has been left out of consideration because the final motives are too difficult to analyze or perhaps too simple, power and wealth and *richesse oblige* being fairly common things. But the people who will be top brass in a few years are already at work in these pages; theirs are the minds which are going to create the images our minds will welcome, and the stereotypes by which they live today will be made to appear fresh and striking actualities for us tomorrow. Here is a chance to discover the kind of people by whom we will be ruled.

And here, a bit of free advice to a network, is the material for an hour's television: a most unspectacular spectacular, and a bit of self-criticism. Mr. Spectorsky who is "a Senior Editor of N. B. C.'s television show, *Home*" might think it over—and spend three minutes of the program telling us why someone is called "Senior Editor" of anything.

Reaction to Repression

NATIONAL SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. By John Lord O'Brian. Harvard University Press. $2.

By Norman Redlich

ONE of the nation's leading lawyers has selected individual freedom for his client, and he serves her well. In this brief book (eighty-four pages), John Lord O'Brian examines the "sordid and discouraging" erosion of individual liberty resulting from a frantic search for national security.

We have established a standard of "preventive law" by which we punish people for the likelihood that they will commit a harmful act. We determine that a person is potentially dangerous by the nature of his associations and beliefs. We have adopted a loyalty-security program based on the presumption of guilt, enforcing an undefinable standard of loyalty with procedures that ignore the landmarks of due process—the right to confront and cross-examine one's accusers and the right to know the nature of the defense. These new procedures, so repugnant to Anglo-American jurisprudence, have also been adopted by vast areas of private industry, giving added impetus to the repressions of this unfortunate era.

Our constitutional system presupposes a harmony, not a conflict, between national security and individual freedom. Mr. O'Brian resolves the conflict implied in his title by pleading for the enforcement of the Bill of Rights. Without actually saying so, he assumes that the liberties are basic and that national security is to be found within the framework of our constitutional rights.

This book is refreshingly optimistic when it discusses the possibility of reversing the trend of the past decade. Close to the surface of American life, says Mr. O'Brian, lingers a basic religious morality and a deep respect for fair play. These moral values find expression in the guarantees of human dignity found in the Bill of Rights. What is needed is a group of leaders who can pose the issue of constitutional liberty in terms of the moral values which are the conscience of the American community. "At present that sense of conscience is obscured, but surely in time the sense of fair play will assert itself as it has in the past.... If and when our leaders in the executive, Congressional, and judicial departments awaken to their obligation to protect the freedom of the human spirit . . . the public, with the issues clarified, will then also respond to the sense of moral responsibility, and out of the present confusion will come a rededication to the cause of freedom in our time."

A practical lesson is here implied for politicians. The victories of American demagogues have been only temporary. The great heroes of history have spoken the language of individual liberty, a language muted for a decade and yearning for re-expression. Those who seek a modern text for liberalism should study John Lord O'Brian's eloquent message. It not only can win adherents to the cause of individual freedom. It might even win elections.

NORMAN REDLICH is a member of the New York Bar and a frequent contributor to The Nation.

Books In Brief

The Average Hero

THE REVELATIONS OF DR. MODESTO. By Alan Harrington. Knopf. $3.50.

David Riesman's impressive but ponderous statement of the "other directed" personality has at last found its way into a novel a bitter, clownish, and challenging book by Alan Harrington. "The Revelations of Dr. Modesto" dramatizes with satire—often obvious, perhaps, but always effective—what Riesman uncovers with careful sociological analysis: the uniform packaging of personality for economic consumption.

Not since C. Wright Mills's "White Collar" has there been so complete an exposure of the modern suspicion of self. No one, after all, is completely free from the pressures of "centralism," that doctrine of non-identity which is rapidly becoming a basic canon of the modern faith.

"Centralism" is the discovery of the mysterious Dr. Modesto, a shadowy figure who advises a young salesman—introverted and therefore miserable—how to conquer an unfriendly world. "Since your self grates on others and makes you miserable, get rid of it," Dr. Modesto proclaims. "Look around and see who is the happy man. He is the one Just Like Everybody Else. . . . You are a sensitive person in a world of brutes. Like a feeble animal you need protective coloration. The only place to hide is in the center of their culture. *Be more average than anyone!* . . ."

Power in the Air

U. S. MILITARY DOCTRINE. By Brigadier General Dale O. Smith. Duell, Sloan and Pearce—Little, Brown. $3.50.

It is not surprising that an Air Force officer today finds American military doctrine in recent years moving rapidly toward recognition that air power is the prime reliance in our strategy, or finds that the offensive concept is dominant, or that the more massive the offensive the greater the dominance. For of late all these views have clearly emerged as basic in the national policy, and not merely as the continuing hope of air officers.

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General Smith surveys the "principles" of warfare with a skepticism springing from the fact that certain principles are in perpetual conflict with other principles; he concludes that a principle is sound only when the new situation is identical with the old situation which developed that principle. The important thing is to arrive at new principles fitting a wholly new situation, rather than to follow the fourteenth-century French cavalry practice of taking an appalling licking from English longbowmen at Crecy, and sixty-nine years later at Agincourt taking a worse one because of that same "new" weapon.

General Smith is not in sympathy with what he calls the "obsession" of winning wars on the ground, because they have been won there before. Nor does he feel that mass bombing is to be regarded as an excessive cruelty when one examines the casualties in South (not North) Korea imposed by continental-type warfare—1,200 villages destroyed, 1,000,000 killed or captured, 10,000,000 left destitute. One gathers that General Smith, who compares the 1954 Dulles doctrine with Washington's 1783 military program (which was ignored), believes firmly that if the power of massive retaliation exists (in the form of a powerful professional force) the mere threat of its use may be sufficient; certainly he recognizes that the best way to win a war is without fighting, and sternly opposes a "preventive war" as an assured move toward jungle principles.

His book is an orderly and calm examination of the new strategy, designed not only for professional study but for examination by a public informed on military matters, without whose approval no national policy can become truly effective.

Surviving Total Destruction

TWO MINUTES TILL MIDNIGHT. By Elmer Davis. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.75.

Most of us refuse to think about hydrogen war. Elmer Davis believes we are wrong. He doubts that it can be avoided, and he argues in this book that we had better face the inevitable and get ready for it, militarily, morally, and mentally. About the only way to avoid the holocaust, he says, would be to convince the men in the Kremlin that it would do them in personally, but the Kremlin is doubtless equipped with "the best air-raid shelter in the world." So Americans must stop being cowardly about the horror of nuclear war and make sure that if it comes, we shall win it.

Davis does not go along with the theory that another war would destroy civilization. "It would undoubtedly be a terrible thing; but the losers would be sunk a good deal deeper than the winners." As winners we may end up with very little "improved real estate," but those of us who survive will at least still have freedom (he does not explain who makes him so sure). Mr. Davis has small patience with either the naive "one-worlders" or our friendless foreign policy. The outlook is dark and the hour late (the book's title is taken from the clock on the cover of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*), but he asserts that it is not too late for us to get smart—that is, to gather allies and stiffen our defenses. To show us what we must brace ourselves for he offers a helpful little chapter on what to do "when the balloon goes up," Pentagon code language for the outbreak of war. Main item: get out of town as fast as you can—in the upwind direction.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

WINNING actress though she is, Julie Harris was not a happy choice for the title role in "The Lark" (Longacre Theater). Anouilh's dramatization of the triumph and execution of Joan of Arc, adapted for the stage here by Lillian Hellman, is at once a clever and a deeply-felt work of theater craft. It shows us Joan with pride and love (there is a markedly parental tone in this portrait), and by weaving past, present and future almost carelessly together in a fabric outside of time, it catches the special pervasiveness of legends.

But there is a hazard in the play and that is a difference in the level of approach to Joan and to the lords of war, state and church who surround her. About Warwick and the Bishop of Beauvais, The Dauphin and La Hire, Anouilh is judicious, analytical, seriously concerned with motive and character. He conjures up, thus, an engrossing group of men—not good men or bad, but self-justifying men who are sadly aware that history lies in ambush. These men of power are played by actors of power and fine discrimination—Boris Karloff, Joseph Wiseman, Christopher Plummer, Theodore Bikel and Paul Roebling most notably. They recreate in immediate focus the terrible dilemma that Joan posed to authority and the hearts of men.

Joan, on the other hand, is treated with indulgent affection, almost playfully, as though an engrossing fable were being spun. We see into her very little, are asked to satisfy ourselves with the magic of her presence. This could be moving—the lords sitting in council on the lark of promise. But I do not think Anouilh intended the allegory to be

Open letter
ABOUT A NOVEL

Dear Nation Reader,

Although we have an impressive packet of opinion, favorable and even ecstatic, about Ring Lardner, Jr.'s novel, **The Ecstasy of Owen Muir**, which describes its satire variously as "pungent," "deadly," "courageous," "subtle," "comic," and "brilliant," we don't have the money to buy the space to run them all.

However, we do have confidence that no reader who takes up this "unorthodox novel about orthodoxy" will put it down until he has enjoyed every one of its 302 witty and iconoclastic pages. And we do have enough space (if we leave off the coupon on this ad) to say further that it is a "witty, Candide-like satire about the conversion of an upper-class young man who tries to reconcile Roman Catholic dogma with the realities of present day America... and who has his mid-century confusions resolved by a talented and successful Monsignor..."

Out last January. As good (some say even better) now as it was then.

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by Ring Lardner, Jr. $3

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carried all the way—a mystic has freed France and a prophet has been burned at the stake. Her presence, however inexplicable, must be tangible.

Julie Harris plays her as a sprite. It is not just youth and promise that she expresses, but eternal youth, eternal promise. That can be adorable, but it is also untouchable. Our hearts go out to youth and innocence, but they do not go out to Peter Pan, except when we are young ourselves. There is something complacent about the ever-ever child.

Miss Harris, for all her honest workmanship and sensitive, responsive intelligence, is an audience actress. She is here in closer rapport with the audience than with her allies and judges, she looks for applause across the footlights, not in the wavering eyes of the kingling. We feel ourselves in cahoots with her against England and the Inquisition; therefore she is not committed to the frame of their reality and their flames do not burn. The applause for Miss Harris and her great cast is long and genuine and earned. It has been an evening of splendid theater. But it stays in the theater, and we go home in a mood of cheerful sentimentality that is not right for Joan's victory in martyrdom.

A PLAY is not an equation in psychological algebra and if it were J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes lack the originality to reach an ingenious solution. In "Dragon's Mouth" (Cherry Lane Theater) they quarantine two men and two women on a yacht and set them to talking. Animated by the knowledge that one of them will presently die of a highly mysterious and selective disease, these four talk on and on, racking their brains, their souls and their glands to come up with some final statement about us all. They discover that there is good and bad in everyone and that it takes all kinds to make a world. Any cocktail party generates better talk, and drinks are served.

EVERYONE has been expressing gratitude to The Comedie Francaise. Their presence here brought a new vision of stage behavior to audiences conditioned for years to the straitened style of our naturalistic theater. They may even have done us some good. Not that anyone expects our actors to adopt those sweeps and curves and arabesques with which the French fill their stage. But we have been encouraging a shrinking, sidling, focusless stage deportment that becomes less than *lifelike* in its compulsion not to exaggerate. The French never forget that acting is an abstraction of life, intended to be more meaningful and interesting than the real thing. They never move without a purpose, they never make a gesture just for something to do. In the plays they showed us they were intensifying the flavor of elegance, but other flavors can be heightened in the same way. Any style of acting can have form and the selective vividness of art. It is literalness that is formless and we have a good deal of that.

IT WOULD seem from "Rebel Without a Cause" that the juvenile gangs on the West Coast had been organized by Cocteau. They are rich kids, playing dreamy games of suicide, floating hand in hand through ruined mansions; doomed children leading one another through mists of alcohol, comic books and the sirens of police riot cars.

But I can see that this is intended as a "sincere" social document, a warning to us all. There is a splendid young detective in charge of a model youth department at headquarters; there are startling case histories of homes that breed the more lethal varieties of delinquency. Knives and guns and stripped down cars are very much in evidence. The trouble is that the picture burlesques the problem. It is easy to explain delinquency if you assume that parents are howling idiots; but the supposition is neither true nor very interesting.

James Dean, in one of his last pictures, was sadly mannered—really phony—a good part of the time. But there were moments when he was given a chance to move in direct action or to express direct emotion. These had the electric honesty that promised so much for him.

GRANTED that the filmed "Guys and Dolls" is too long, that Marlon Brando is a sheepish song and dance man, that few of the screen performers can talk the illiterately formal Damon Runyan language. Granted that this is a watered version of the great show; it is still fun.

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OF CHERUBINI'S music I had known only the boring Symphony in D and the engaging Overture to "Anacreon"; of Cherubini himself only Berlioz's account of their mutually unappreciative relation when he was a student at the Conservatoire. Even the overture didn't account for the respect Beethoven is reported to have had for Cherubini; but the boringly conventional symphony did account for Cherubini's disapproval of a mind as unconventional and original as young Berlioz's. And the American Opera Society's recent performance of Cherubini's "Medea" made everything clear: he was not a symphonic composer but an opera composer, and, by the evidence of "Medea," a remarkably good one, who could produce dramatic melody of great beauty and expressive power, and who, if he couldn't use an orchestra interestingly in a symphony, could use it effectively to produce the astonishingly figurations that underline the vocal writing. All this certainly was something Beethoven could respect; and on the other hand, as a friend observed, when you consider that in 1797, the year of "Medea's" premiere and five years before Berlioz's birth, Cherubini was writing at the age of thirty-seven with a completely matured technique and style, it isn't surprising that at seventy his mind wasn't receptive to the startingly individual practice in melody, harmony, orchestration, and form that Berlioz exhibited even in his student days.

THE most impressive vocal writing in "Medea"—making unbelievable demands of range, of both power and delicacy, of endurance—is that of Medea herself; and Eileen Farrell's singing of the part—with its beauty of sound in hair-raising fortissimo and ear-ravishing pianissimo, its powerful shaping and subtle inflection of long phrases, its sustained tension from first note to last—was one of the great vocal performances I have heard. The expressive figurations that underline Medea's part were produced with impressive ef-

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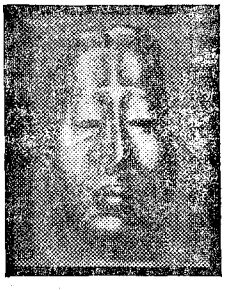

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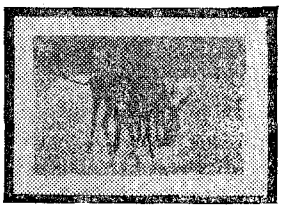

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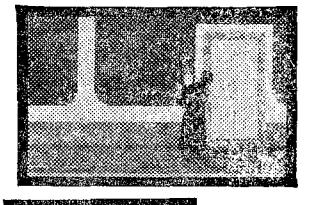

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fect by the orchestra under Arnold U. Gamson, who again demonstrated his unmistakable talent for the special task of operatic conducting. Farrell's and Gamson's were the major contributions to the occasion; in addition there was lovely singing by Laurel Hurley, and good singing by Martha Lipton and Norman Scott; but James McCracken's voice was not attractive, and his was the worst of the bad pronunciation of Italian by some of the participants. My history-minded friend also informed me that Cherubini wrote no recitatives for "Medea," and that the ones we had heard may have been those written by Franz Lachner for a German production.

LEONARD BERNSTEIN'S impressive operation with the Symphony of the Air last January made him the logical choice as conductor for the orchestra's six concerts this season; but the choice involved a risk. The empty seats at the opening concert, like those at last January's concert, may indicate the public's lessening interest in the Symphony of the Air; but they may also indicate its lack of interest in the kind of programs that interest Bernstein—the one of Copland, Hindemith, and Prokofiev last January, or the one consisting of Copland's new "Canticle of Freedom" and Mahler's Symphony No. 2 ("Resurrection") a few weeks ago. It seems to me that when a conductor plays a piece which only a comparatively small number of people are interested in, the rest of his program had better consist of music which attracts the general public for orchestral concerts—which is to say that he does best to play either Copland or Mahler, but not both.

Since the members of the Symphony of the Air, to support themselves, have to accept jobs that sometimes conflict with the Carnegie Hall concerts, there were a number of temporary changes of personnel at the opening concert. For one thing the Bervs were absent from the horns, and additional brass were present for the Mahler symphony; as a result there was not the fabulous sound, like that of one instrument, that the orchestra's own brass section used to achieve. And though, with the other changes, there was the playing of a great orchestra, I did not hear the refined beauty of sonority, the precision and finish, that I used to hear. The reason may have been not only the changes in personnel but lack of sufficient rehearsal, or Bernstein's conducting, or even the fact that I sat too close to the stage.

It was close enough to perceive the real contact between Bernstein and the orchestra, and close enough to be distracted and embarrassed by some of the movements Bernstein used to get the orchestra to do what he wanted. They were the movements of the warm-hearted extrovert who at the end embraced the concertmaster and blew kisses to the audience, who himself writes huge sprawling symphonies concerned with matters like the age of anxiety, who therefore feels drawn to a work like Mahler's Second, and who, with all the impressive effect he gives the work at times, damages it at other times. What is damaging in Bernstein's performance is the same lack of a controlling sense of measure that one hears in the Mahler symphony. In the lovely Andante moderato second movement, for example, the lilting opening melody returns with a countermelody of the cellos which engages all of Bernstein's attention and on which he lavishes all his emotion, oblivious to the fact his lingering over it is slowing down the lilting melody to the point where its lilt is destroyed. This is only one of many instances; and whereas skillful performance like Bruno Walter's conceals the work's discontinuities with a contrived coherence that makes its length less noticeable, Bernstein's preoccupation with the effect of the moment—with one effect after another, each carried to its extreme—emphasizes the discontinuities and the already excessive length that it increases by an additional quarter-hour.

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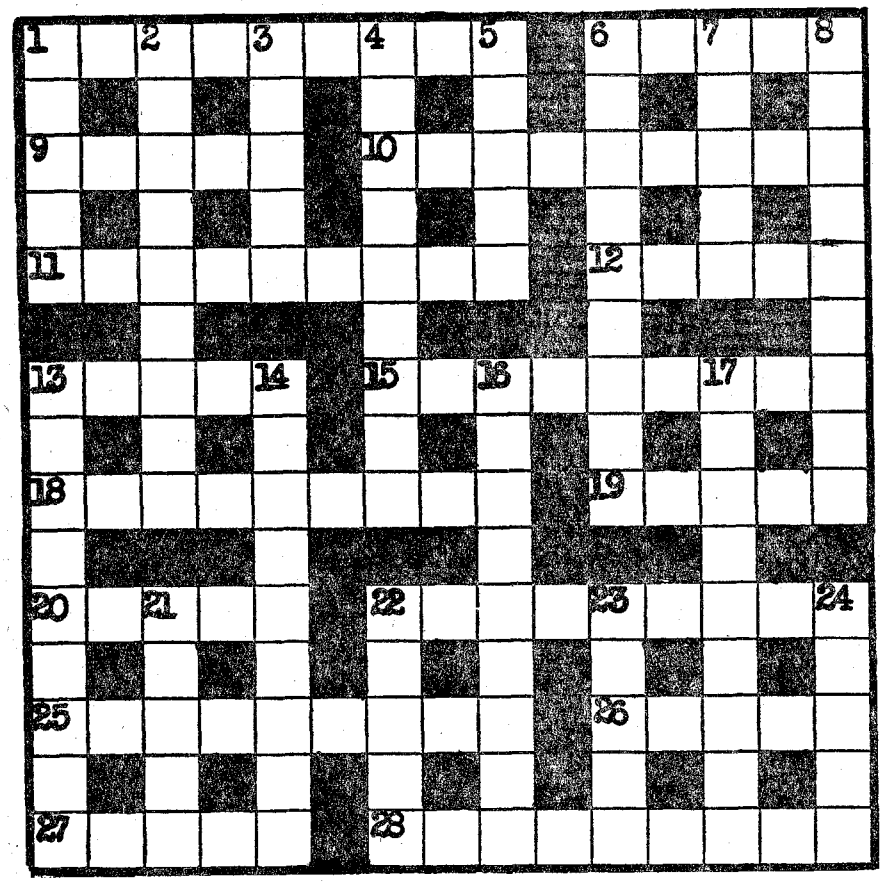

ACROSS

1 Mary's playmate back around? The inside fit is ceremonial. (9)
6 See 1 down.
9 Stuffy, perhaps, and rather large to back up to. (5)
10 See 1 down.
11 One is never blameless. (9)
12 An afterthought is an orbital point. (5)
13 Socks, perhaps, worn higher. (5)
15 Could hardly be considered original. (9)
18 Hens? (9)
19 Takes hold baggage. (5)
20 See 4 down.
22 Such a thing should have quite a holding. (9)
25 Mr. Chips in later years? (3,6)
26 Take aim or miss, perhaps. (5)
27 Trips over a pole. (5)
28 Such plaids dye unevenly, it is shown. (9)

DOWN

1, 3 down and 6 across "Hansel and Gretel" might be . . . (5,2,3,5)
1, and 10 across . . . but the air is lighter here. (5,2,7)
2 Queued. (Evidently a trace of iron was involved.) (9)
3 See 1 down.
4 and 20 across Not necessarily a pre-fab, but rather where one's requirements are posted. (4-5,5)
5 and 24 down Shortened to 24 and 5 and lit out. (3,2,5)
6 Traveling on Shank's mare. (9)
7 Calling on some friends? (It's nothing to blow up!) (5)
8 They shouldn't lead to the front or back door! (9)
13 Staves and blades, like William steals. (9)
14 If your 20 is let out again, he might take it. (9)
16 Father's games have their share of poor shots. (9)
17 Fat. (9)
21 Beneath ken with 24. (5)
22 Brought forward. (5)
23 Arrived with a number aboard a "ship" of sorts. (5)
24 See 5 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 647

ACROSS: 1 VAPOR TRAIL; 10 CROQUET; 11 OEDIPUS; 12 SUNDRIES; 13 ELITE; 15 AGENT; 17 VAPIDNESS; 21 MACAO; 23 ELECT; 24 BURSTING; 27 STABBER; 28 YARDAGE; 29 and 26 SIDEREAL; 30 VOLLEYBALL. DOWN: 1 and 19 VICE-TREASURER; 2 PROFUSE; 3 ROUND; 4 RETRIEVER; 5 and 6 IRONSIDES; 7 DEPRIVE; 8 SUSPENSION; 9 ADDENDUM; 14 PANTHEIST; 16 TEST TUBE; 18 PORTRAYAL; 20 EMERALD; 22 CANTATA; 24 BURRO; 25 TARRY.

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